1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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narrowest of paths leading through it. There is thus very little clear space either for spear-throwing or for shooting with bows and arrows. The natives are, moreover, notoriously bad shots. It thus happens often that months of spasmodic fighting go on without causing a single death, and the numbers killed in any one war seldom exceed two or three on either side. That was in the old days, for since the white man introduced muskets the case has become very different, as is shown below.[1]

(c) (ii) DISPUTES WITH COMMUNITIES OUTSIDE THE SMALL ISLANDS AND THE ADJACENT MALEKULAN MAINLAND

Lex talionis not applicable in attacks by "strangers."

The above description of *lex talionis* applies only to warfare waged within the cultural area formed by the Small Islands and the adjacent Malekulan mainland, whose inhabitants intermarry and form a cultural unit. Communities living outside this intermarrying area, whom the inhabitants of the Small Islands visit during the course of canoe voyages undertaken chiefly for the sake of trading in pigs, are regarded as foreigners to be treated with the utmost circumspection lest these strangers should perchance, for reasons best known to themselves, fall on them and attack them.[2] In case of such attack, there is no defence other than to fight a rearguard action and, if possible to escape. No question of *lex talionis* arises, since the Small Islanders are too far from their home-lands to make any effective reply. Such battles, of which examples will be given in a later volume, were the only things in any way resembling fights of extermination known in the Small Islands before the white man's arrival.

Lodges enjoying diplomatic immunity in Oba and North Raga.

Nevertheless, relations were not entirely unregulated even there, for it must not be forgotten that the chief islands so visited were Oba (and formerly Maewo) and North Raga, which are regarded as the home of Ta-ghar, and on which special rites are performed in connexion with Initiation into Sex.[3] For this purpose a certain diplomatic immunity is provided through the existence of special Lodges built at certain spots on the shore for the sole use of visitors, in which they are supposed theoretically to be safe from attack. It must be remembered, also, that the inhabitants welcome the visitors for the sake of the pigs which they bring in exchange for other pigs and for the purpose of buying the red mats

[1] See p. 602.

[2] Compare Na-va-gharu-kalat's speech on Vao to the effect that any stranger coming ashore must be killed and brought to him to cut up (see pp. 90 and 167).

[3] See Chapter XX.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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made on these islands, especially on Oba, and so highly prized by the Small Islanders. For this reason, the visits more often than not pass off without untoward incident. But there is always the possibility that, lacking any kinship ties, the inhabitants, owing to some dispute over pigs, or some chance slight on their dignity, may turn hostile. So the Small Islanders always go fully armed, and place sentries round about the Lodge to warn them of possible danger.

Ambrim, East Malekula, Malo, Santo.

The same is true, to a slightly lesser extent, of expeditions to Ambrim, where they go also to trade in pigs, and to that part of the east coast of Malekula which is outside the Small Island cultural area as far south as Port Sandwich, which at the present day is the most southerly point to which voyages are made. It was from Unua, on this coast, that the natives of Vao obtained, by payment of pigs, the human victim sacrificed on the erection of a former *ghamal* at Pete-hul.[1] To the north, Malo and Santo are visited for the sake of obtaining the turmeric leaves used in the dying of the red mats manufactured in the Small Islands.[2] So far as I know, no initiation rite is practised by the Small Islanders on these islands, nor are there any special Lodges affording diplomatic immunity, and the Small Islanders have to rely on friendship and the self-interest of the inhabitants not to attack them.

INTRODUCTION OF FIREARMS BY EUROPEANS

CAUSING WHOLESALE MASSACRES AND THE VIRTUAL EXTINCTION OF THE ONCE FLOURISHING POPULATION OF THE ADJACENT MALEKULAN MAINLAND

The last chapter in the chequered war history of these islands has reversed all precedents. This has been due to the introduction of muskets into the islands by white men. From the first arrival of the sandalwood traders about a century ago down to the present time the natives all over the group have been provided with shot-guns and rifles—all commonly referred to as muskets—which have been sold to them, partly in exchange for land or in return for coconuts or for direct payment in coin, and partly, in the early days apparently, out of a deliberate attempt to promote war for the sake of creating a demand for cartridges sold at exorbitant prices. The Condominium agreement of 1906 included a clause forbidding such sales, but the sales still go on. The result is that, for decades past, almost every adult male in the group, at any rate in the Small Islands and Malekula, has possessed a gun, and still does. Now that there is a

[1] See p. 451. [2] See p. 456.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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In the early stages of this conflict the rule of *lex talionis* seems to have been carried out fairly successfully, and the numbers of dead on either side accord well with those killed in the traditional fighting of the "classical" period. Moreover, the only weapon mentioned in this fighting is the spear with which one of the Tolamp women was killed. It would therefore appear that this part of the fighting was fought without muskets. The ten Atchin men killed in the final battle were, however, out of all proportion to the number of those usually killed in the old days, and the unwonted slaughter was probably due to the possession of muskets by the Vao men before these weapons had reached Atchin.

It is, however, clear from my informant's comment on this account that the Atchin men soon found means of revenging themselves, for he states that in the fighting that followed the inhabitants of the mainland village of Tolamp were almost wiped out. As we have seen, the survivors later migrated to Vao, where they were given land to live on by their Togh-vanu kinsmen, in return for which the Togh-vanu people were given a large share of garden ground on the mainland formerly belonging to Tolamp.

CANNIBALISM AND HUMAN SACRIFICE

Cannibalism general, with few exceptions, throughout the whole group.

When the white man first came to the New Hebrides, cannibalism was practised almost all over the group, though there were certain exceptions. Thus, Codrington reports that there was no evidence for it in Maewo,[1] and that it was quite definitely not practised in the Banks and Torres Islands, though tales of Vampyres in those islands seem to indicate that it was once the custom there too.[2] A somewhat similar condition of affairs is reported by Tattevin from the district of Pornowol in South Raga, where cannibalism is not practised but man-killers assume the title *ias* in memory of certain mythical beings of this name who ate men.[3] Another curious pocket of natives who are not cannibals though all the surrounding natives are is reported by Harrisson from Matanavat on the north coast of Malekula.[4] These are, however, exceptions, and as a general rule cannibalism existed throughout the group.

It was, however, the first thing to be suppressed by what Government there was, with the result that the custom is confined now to East, Central and South-West Santo, the interior of Malekula, East Ambrim and South Raga.[5]

[1] Codrington, 3, p. 344.
[2] Ibid., 3, pp. 221-2.
[3] Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 409. See also p. 17 in this volume.
[4] Harrisson, 2, p. 40.
[5] Speiser, 3, pp. 239, 449. Tattevin, however, says that the Pornowol in South Raga are no longer cannibals.

2: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1936
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who had returned to his own people and was busy reviving the fortunes of his village in the same way. These two men were among my best informants, since they themselves were conscious learners from the older men and, like all learners, the most capable of passing on their knowledge.

Nor were the people of Atchin averse to using such aspects of the white man's material culture as would seem to them to further their interests. Though stone tools were still used for gardening and shell tools for carving, some natives possessed knives, but such things were not common, and the degradation in plastic art which everywhere followed on their introduction had, at the time of my visit, only recently begun to show itself. It seemed, by the way, most curious to me that, with the tremendous labour of digging in hard ground with nothing better than hard-wood sticks, no white man had thought of introducing more efficient agricultural implements, but none such existed. The hard-earned white man's money obtained on distant plantations was used almost exclusively with two objects in view. One was the purchase of whaleboats to replace their former long-distance canoes in order to facilitate the trade in and exchange of pigs in other islands. The second, closely connected with it, had as its result the only real benefit conferred by the white man, indirectly and without his knowledge, on the native. When I arrived on Atchin I was surprised at the number of young men who spoke pidgin English. It was not till I had been some time on the island that the reason for this became apparent. One of the least desirable aspects of the social system in this and the neighbouring islands was polygamy which, since most of the older men had two wives, effectually prevented the younger men from marrying until a comparatively late age. Wives are bought with the most valuable currency known in Atchin, namely pigs. So the younger men seized the opportunity created by the system of indentured labour to sign on for three years, without, like other natives, running up debts at the trader's store, so that with the money thus earned they might, on their return, buy pigs with which to purchase wives. This wholly beneficial revolution in the social machinery was in full swing at the time of my visit, but Mr. Harrisson tells me, and this is one of the most interesting points of comparison between then and now, that the old men have now turned tables on the young, and by devaluing the pig in terms of women and increasing the bride-price from eight or nine pigs to fifty or sixty, have thus restored the old equilibrium, and incidentally, presumably, their own authority. When we reflect upon the fact that the young men twenty-two years ago are the older men now we have a useful sidelight on one of the mechanisms governing the rise and fall of revolutions.

Another effect of the increased wealth in pigs thus gained was the elimination of the lower grades from the *Maki* hierarchy. This process was not primarily due to the wealth so gained, but, like so many other changes in native custom, was very much accentuated by it. In all other parts of Malekula the *Maki*, as has already been pointed out, is a graded hierarchy in which the grades are taken by individuals, and the taking of them demands great expenditure of pigs and other forms of wealth, so that when a man has reached the highest grade called *Mal* he is a very great man and jealous of his distinction. The tendency in such districts was consequently to increase the number of gre-

3: Harrisson N-5 (1934-1935) 1936
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Tattoo is elaborately humanistic in the Banks Islands; simpler on Pentecost, with occasional spirals and circles; intricately angular on Omba; on Santo simple geometric patterns, almost entirely non-representative. Scarification replaces tattoo in Sakau. On Malekula I have not seen tattoo.

I found that chance, individuality, error, misinterpretation, war, and wind were most important in determining the cultures I investigated; these are allowed no place anywhere in Rivers' 'History of Melanesian Society' (1914). I have also much evidence for the spread of ideas and objects ahead or independent of the people who originally brought them, often accidentally, to one point. There is little evidence to be found for logical coherent waves of the Riversian "*kava* people" type into this part of Melanesia. And whereas movements have generally been considered to pass from the north southwards, there is no doubt that the two most obvious diffusions which I have been able to trace spread westward from Omba, which was almost certainly effected from the east, and northward from Efate through Emae, Tongoa, Hambi to south Malekula; important culture traits in Santo have largely been derived from Malo to the south. After studying the literature and the people themselves, I have come to the conclusion that the culture of south Melanesia is even more complex than had previously been supposed. Far more data are needed to make any broad generalizations valuable. There are still whole islands about whose culture we know nothing. The forthcoming work of Layard, and to a lesser extent my own, will I think demonstrate that some of the north Malekulan and Atchin traits can be associated with ritual or belief all over the Pacific and in much remoter parts of the world. These islands seem to have received the last flickers and backwashes from every step in world evolution: that is true for the period of white influence too.

Present position in the Group

The white is in general disliked by the native: mission natives sometimes like their missionaries. What respect black has for white is founded on what the former calls the latter's "cleverness"—the things he can make, his tinned sardines and launch engines. Among many peoples now, especially on Omba, Efate, Tongoa, and Nguna, there is a dawning determination to have some say in their own affairs. Now the natives have no control of any sort; they know they are being underpaid or misused. Their lack of unity has been and is the main obstacle to reform. Land in particular will be a future problem. On some islands the French claim more land than there is above water; they vigorously curtail the expansion of the native in every direction, and notably on Aore and Malo have driven out whole villages. Among the bushmen anti-white feeling is generally strong but passive; for here there is little concern with the small world outside. And whereas the bushmen are without exception decreasing, the coastal peoples in many part... and invariably when close to a missionary and his medicines, are increasing.

On the basis of a very detailed study (to be published elsewhere) I am convinced that a hundred and fifty years ago there were not less than one million natives in the group; there are now about forty-five thousand. "Civilization" has crept on, though perhaps more slowly than anywhere else in the world. It is the missionary and the germ that has made the coast safe for civilization.

3: Harrisson N-5 (1934-1935) 1936
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Big Nambas

From the first missionary, John Williams, murdered in 1839, until the present day, these devoted men, working according to their own lights, meeting often with sudden death, have been the only influence for good and sanity of any sort; even had they accomplished nothing, the missionaries would be the best people in island history. It was not always the Mission who converted the people or disrupted the native civilization. It was the chaos of endless new unknown diseases, the fundamental cultural upset due to iron and firearms. In seeking protection from these and from the other whites who brought them, the natives came to the missionary. The early records of the group are a ghastly list of introduced diseases—scarlet fever, measles, consumption, smallpox, phthisis, gonorrhoea, whooping cough, influenza, diphtheria, meningitis—all fatal to these people. The population, particularly where it was much in contact with whites, was decimated. Their culture was based on a certain speed, rhythm, and age-cycle; the sudden death of artist, magician, or chief upset the whole. The old beliefs, ancient gods, counter-magics, and native herbs, could do nothing; so they turned to the white man's god, who must be stronger than their own. The new trend among the missionized people, as it gathers internal momentum, shows signs of turning against its instigators, the white missionaries. So far experiments in founding a native-run church have regularly failed. The new motive power is economic rather than religious; some revival of passive heathenism is an ingredient. The price of copra, regulated by the combines far away in Europe, has become in many ways the determining factor. During the period of my visit copra prices reached their lowest level. The missionized natives have become dependent on their coconuts to earn them money for knives, calico, tobacco, belts, even bread, rice, and tinned meat—the substitutes for "heathen" things that have become extinct through mission influence. Low prices mean little money and a standard of living reduced below the level of the last thirty years, in many ways below that of the heathen bushmen. This annoys the native against the white, who has created these demands and will not satisfy them; and a shirt has become the essential symbol of a mission native, to such an extent that without a shirt he feels no longer Christian. I doubt if the group has within sight an important economic future for the white man, despite the recent optimistic accounts of Archimbaud (1927) and Lop (1933). The Chinese and Japanese are rapidly gaining economic power; they may find in these fever- and cyclone-ridden islands an important outlet. Half-castes are not numerous. French ones rank equal with pure Frenchmen as citizens, and run many French plantations.

Recently the administration have to some extent changed their policy, for example in relation to trouble within the native community and in appointing me to pacify the Big Nambas. The native will therefore expect more arbitration in future; if it is not provided, the administration will be discredited, to the danger of all whites.

So the age-long cycle goes on. The native population was never stable, either in culture or in numbers. When Quiros came the population was about at a peak in the north; now it has reached a trough, on the interminable up and down of all races. It is time for the Melanesian to climb again. He is climbing wherever conditions are at all favourable. And the vital question

3: Harrisson N-5 (1934-1935) 1936
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busia introduced to destroy mosquito larvae; the movements of hill people to the sea controlled; no women should be allowed to work on a plantation. If these steps are taken the physical conservation of the bushman may be achieved.

The cultural conservation technique cannot be expressed so concretely. It is too late to preserve the pattern complete. There is however a good alternative, and I can best give my point of view by describing a concrete example of what can happen with proper guidance or good luck, as on the island of Atchin.

(ii) *Atchin*, 1935.—There is no doubt that on small islands a mile or less across health is much better and *Anopheles* mosquitoes are often absent. They are the small island populations which are increasing most rapidly throughout the group, though some are still decreasing, and in these islands I see the best future of the race. Most have mainly mission populations, but on some heathens are dominant. One such is Atchin, half a mile off the east coast of Malekula; of the four hundred and eighty natives less than two dozen are Christians. A Seventh Day Adventist missionary lived there for many years, and all the other missions maintain native teachers there. The missions have had no success, but the natives got some ideas from them which they have incorporated into their own culture. More valuable has proved the visit of an anthropologist, John W. Layard. He was there more than twenty years ago, but to this day is remembered as Taoni (Johnny). He gained a remarkable understanding of the Atchinese, and his sympathy greatly encouraged the people to keep up their old heathen customs. Like all Hebrideans, the Atchinese sold land to the whites for a few guns in the early days. Unlike all the rest, they have since bought it back. Their country is their own. As their yam gardens are on the mainland, they are expert canoeists; they still keep up the old canoe voyages to Ambrym, trading penis-wrappers for pigs; to Malo, Santo, and east Malekula. The old turmeric-dye leaf trade has been taken over by French ships, and for some years now there has been no ritual sex-initiation voyage to Omba, home of the benign deity Ta-har (Tagaro). The best fishermen, whole villages club their copra together to get a modern European drag net; but do not let decay the ancient stone-wall trap, a sort of lobster-pot, and the special handnets for the Palolo worm, which at certain seasons appears in millions, giving its name to three of the lunar months. They run their own stores and sell their own copra to the highest bidder of the several ships that call in search of this lucrative trade. They encourage whites to visit but not to stop. They make sham spears to sell to world-touring yachts which call regularly to see these remarkably safe savages; the real spears they do not show. They have twice done all their dances for film companies, in no way to the detriment of the dance culture or significance, rather the opposite. Baker (1935, p. 212) says of the Sakaus, Santo: "If they had been persuaded to dance for the tourists it would have been the beginning of the break-up of their culture, in which dancing plays an important part. . . . The prostitution of their culture by tourists would be deleterious not only to themselves but also to social anthropology." Apart from the fact that the Sakaus have unfortunately lost, almost forgotten, the whole dance-cycle of the highest chiefly grade (*ruster*), and that the special dance for the marriage of a

3: Harrisson N-5 (1934-1935) 1936
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chief's daughter has been given up for years, Atchin contradicts his theory in fact. Baker I think underestimates the vanity of the native.

The Atchinese are among the very few peoples friendly to the administration, and they now appeal at once for peaceful settlements to all disputes. In the old days they gave a lot of trouble, but living on a small island they found a warship was more significant to them than to the bushmen. War is no more, abortion uncommon; the older men consciously want the place to grow; and grow it does. Thus it was the Atchinese who drew my attention to the exorbitantly high pig payments demanded as bride price all over the area in recent years; with their support I was able to lower the price by 80 per cent., back to pre-white level, thus enabling young men to marry with only normal difficulty. Similarly these folk like European medicines for introduced diseases, but use their own for the endemic ones. Their pig transactions and graded-society (*Maki*) rites have been modified; some things have been taken away, others added, both from white and black sources. Atchin dances are second only to those of Matanavat; they are kept up with exactitude and enthusiasm; also with new and often spontaneous variations in one type of the *na-leng*, the highest manifestation of Hebridean art and living. Sorcery and poison are no longer tolerated; the Atchinese are bitter against the adjacent island Vao for continuing these practices—bitter, but not disbelieving. Magic is not now important; old legends and stories, in which these people excel, are a part of daily life and juvenile instruction; the same myths collected by Layard and myself in 1914 and 1935 respectively agree perfectly, there has been no deterioration. The old burial rites and beliefs survive unimpaired.

In general the old customs that are savage or anti-social under modern conditions have disappeared, while those with business, religious, health, or play value have survived, even expanded. It is in this Europeanized heathenism, this intelligently primitive and adaptive but obstinate outlook, that the ancient Melanesian culture is most likely and able to survive. On Atchin to-day every village has its great drums, in lovely dancing glades, dolmens, carved human and bird effigies; a little distance away behind a native-style stone wall is a cluster of palm houses kept clean; at one corner perhaps a cement and iron house, the men's lodge, pride of the place. The women have more status, charm, freedom, and gaiety than elsewhere in the area.

I found the Atchinese charming people—and charm is a word I seldom think of applying to a Melanesian. They are thoroughly independent and sophisticated, combining Melanesian business ability with a more-Polynesian intelligence and grace to direct it. The planters and missionaries have no good word to say for Atchin, which is an indication. Few tribes have had the good luck and intelligence to use the white man's things for their own advantage, in harmony with their own culture. I believe that what the Hebridean needs most to-day is guidance in this direction associated with simple medical aid. New education, religion and outlet are unnecessary and inadvisable now, and perhaps for some time to come. A few sympathetic men and women, without undue prejudice, could with a little money and many medicines work wonders. Atchin might well serve as a model in cultural adaptation. It